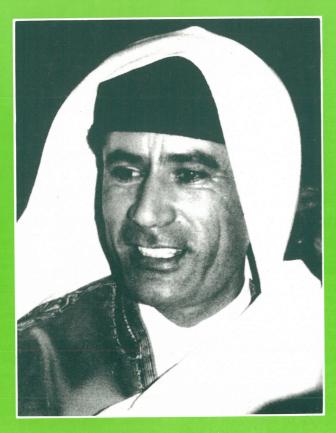
# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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The solution of the problem of Democracy

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The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3
The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

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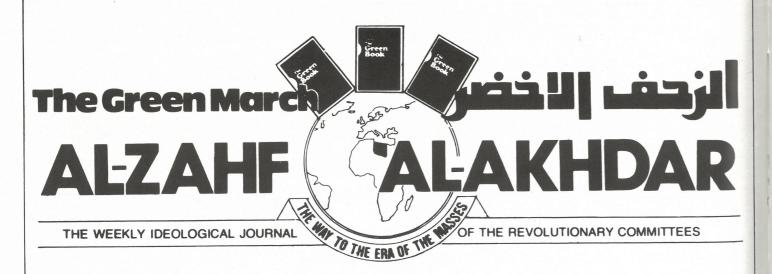
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## **CARTOON COMMENT**





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# jamahiriya review

No 28

September 1982

SPECIAL REPORT: On the thirteenth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution in Libya, Dr Alan George presents a profile of the Jamahiriya's socio-economic development during the past year. Threatened by an international oil glut and by the campaign of economic warfare from Washington, Libya rose to meet this double challenge.

AFRICA: A new alliance of African progressives emerged from the Tripoli Summit during August, and appears set to assume an important role in African affairs which could turn the tide of the continent's politics on such important issues as the struggle in South Africa and Namibia. On page 9, Louis Eaks and Jon Bearman explain how Washington's efforts to disrupt the OAU summit appear to have backfired.

ASIA: The rapprochement between the Libyan Jamahiriya and China continued to move forward. Against the background of the decision by Libya's General People's Congress 1979 to cut relations with China over the Camp David accords, Louis Eaks examines events leading to the arrival in Peking last month of a high ranking delegation from the Jamahiriya. See page 12.

ZIONISM: A special correspondent reports on the military links between Israel and the United States, without which the Zionists would have been unable to launch their war of genocide in Lebanon. There is evidence that special deliveries of American arms were shipped to Israeli in the period immediately before the invasion. Report on page 11.

BRITAIN: On page 17, at the start of our trade and development section, Dr Alan George reviews the recent report, published in London by the Committee for Middle East Trade, on British trade opportunities in the Libyan Jamahiriya.

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# Arab treason, Zionist conspiracy

WHEN THE Israeli invasion first entered Lebanon in June, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi immediately called for Arab forces to be despatched to confront the Zionists and support the resistance being waged by the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces. Instead the pro-American Arab regimes opposed holding an Arab summit because they would be forced to make public their refusal to mount such a military operation in defence of Arab territory. The Libyan scheme was effectively sabotaged, despite repeated efforts to secure the summit during the early weeks of the war.

With the Israelis unable to achieve their aim of driving the Palestinian forces from the Lebanon by their military forces, the offensive switched to the form of the Habib mission. This was intended to secure by 'diplomacy' what the Zionists had hoped to achieve by their military invasion of Lebanon. While the Zionists bombed and strafed West Beirut, Mr Habib in the guise of a mediator pressed the Zionist demands on the Lebanese nationalist and Palestinian leaders. American and Israeli goals were the same, it was admitted in Washington: the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon, by which it was meant PLO and Syrian forces. Of course, there remains no firm timetable for Israel's withdrawal.

But where is the dividing line between the defenders of Arab rights in Palestine and Lebanon, and the collaborators with the Israeli scheme to subjugate the Arab nation to American control and influence under the Zionist flag?

It suits the Americans and the media services which they influence, if not control, to portray the issue as one between those who want 'peace' and those who are committed to unending conflict and terrorism.

'Peace', an emotive word, ill-defined, if defined at all. It cannot exist in isolation; it has to be founded on justice and respect for the rights of the people. The current Western concept of 'peace' in Lebanon and Palestine is in reality directed towards acceptance of Zionist occupation of Arab lands, and the racist regime which it imposes, with the Arabs nation subjugated to second class status by a modern day colonialist force. Sweep aside all the emotive propaganda put out to justify Israel's existence, and you have nothing but a state based on settler colonialism playing out its role on behalf of the United States.

But Israel is not America's only surrogate in the region. Others exist, with the Saudi regime being potentially the most powerful, under the new leadership of King Fahd, the architect of the self-styled Fahd Plan, under which the Zionist presence in Palestine would be legitimised. Last year when Fahd arrived in Fez to seek Arab endorsement of the scheme, he was sent packing. The Arab nation would not accept such a scheme drafted in Washington and presented in Arab clothes in the shape of a Saudi prince.

The Saudi scheme, of course, it must be recognised, is not without its supporters in the Palestinian leadership. They have lowered their sights from the liberation of Palestine (if their sights were ever that high), and devote their energies to advocating a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, submissive to the Zionist state in western Palestine. In effect they advocate a situation not much different from that which existed prior to the 1967 June War. They propose the partition of Palestine which, without the strength of oil revenues, the Arab nation rejected in 1947.

A strong Palestinian movement, with the military capability to maintain pressure on the Zionists, must provide the frontline obstacle to a Zionist victory over the Arab nation. It cannot be ignored that Israel's invasion of the Lebanon, and its crushing of the Palestinian presence in the country, serves those Arabs committed to the Fahd scenario very well.

It is no coincidence that it was not until the evacuation of the PLO forces from Beirut had been announced that the Saudi axis in the Arab homeland finally agreed to an Arab summit, with the Fahd plan back on the table.

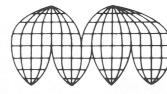
Consistent with its view that invasion and aggression against the Arab nation can only be countered by military force, all Libyan positions have stemmed from this basis. Arab forces should have been mobilised to repel the Israeli invaders, first from Lebanon, and eventually from all occupied Arab lands in Palestine. Instead, we have Arab regimes who, rather than commit their military, political and economic resources to the battle for Palestine, deliberately undermine the Arab strength by offering to be accomplices to the Israeli dispersal of the Palestinian fighters far away from the front-line.

The steadfastness of the Libyan Jamahiriya is not mere rhetoric. It is an expression of principle that the Libyan Revolution will not be a party to any surrender of Arab lands to the settler colonialism of the Zionists. But this principle is constantly betrayed by Arab rulers whose only steadfastness is in refusing to prepare to defend the Arab homeland and liberate the territories occupied by the Zionists.

The commitment to battle is not lacking in Tripoli, and those who seek to mock the Jamahiriya's response to the invasion of Lebanon merely divert attention from those rulers and regimes which obstruct a military response from the Arab nation to the military aggression of the Zionists, thereby serving American and Israeli interests.

The struggle for the liberation of Palestine (and Lebanon also) from Zionist occupation can only be waged successfully when the frontline states and the Arab nation as a whole are united and committed to Arab national interests. It is ironic that the Palestinian revolution should be forced to struggle against the conspiracies of Arab rulers as well as the Zionist-American alliance.

A monthly review of Libyan, Islamic and Third World affairs



# CANCIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

# 'Mobilise all Arab resources,' says Qadhafi

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has proposed a two-pronged plan to confront the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, involving pan-Arab military action, and economic pressure on the United States.

In a statement to the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA on 10th August, Colonel Qadhafi said that 'the only solution left to the Arabs is to send ten military divisions at once to Syria, backed by 500 aircraft, and to begin fierce fighting simultaneously on the Jordanian and Syrian fronts, and in Lebanon, to evict the enemy'.

At the same time, he said, if the US persisted in giving political and material aid to Israel, 'Arab oil supplies should be stopped immediately, and all Arab assets should be withdrawn from US banks.'

If there was Arab agreement on the plan, the Jamahiriya was ready to contribute one division of troops, as well as a number of squadrons of aircraft,' Muammer Qadhafi concluded.

# Israel 'has Security Council veto'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's UN delegation has accused the United States of supporting the Zionist state to the extent that, in effect, Israel now has a right of veto in the Security Council.

Addressing the UN General Assembly special emergency session on Palestine, convened in the wake of the invasion of Lebanon, the Libyan delegate said: 'The US administration has not only given complete political support to the enemy at the Security Council, and used the veto against any resolution opposed by the Zionists, but has in fact given the right of veto to the enemy itself.' This, the Libyan speaker continued actively encouraged Israel in its aggressions.

He added that the savagery of Israel's indiscriminate bombing of Lebanon constituted proof,



before the entire international community, of the murder, destruction and terrorism that were consistently used by Israel to promote its territorial ambitions.

# Israel's expulsion from UN urged

CUBAN FOREIGN Minister Isodoro Malmierca has attacked the United States for giving unlimited support to the Israelis in their aggression against Lebanon, and called for the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations for its repeated violations of UN resolutions on Lebanon, and for refusing to allow a visit to the embattled country by the UN Secretary-General.

Addressing the UN General Assembly special emergency meeting on Palestine, Mr Malmierca also proposed that a monument should be erected, to commemorate the Palestinian and Lebanese children killed by Israel in Lebanon.

# Lisbon Solidarity Week

THE FIRST anniversary of the US aggression in the Gulf of Sirte was marked in the Portuguese capital Lisbon by a Week of Solidarity with the Libyan Jamahiriya. The activities included seminars on US plans for the subjugation of the Arab homeland, which centre on Washington's alliances with Israel and reactionary Arab rulers.

The Gulf of Sirte incident, when US naval units violated Libyan territorial waters and shot down two of the Jamahiriya's fighters, was part of a long-standing campaign of provocation directed by Washington at the Al Fateh Revolution, that has highlighted the opposition of the US to progressive peoples.

# No rift with Uganda

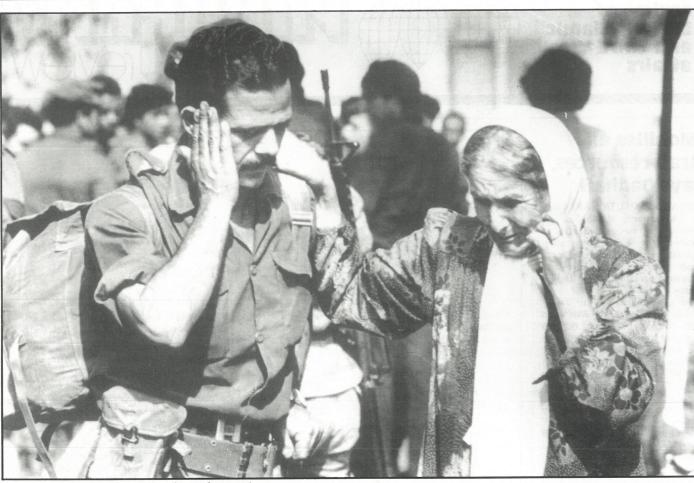
ONLY WEEKS after serious allegations were made in the Ugandan parliament, in which

Libya was accused of supporting opposition groups in the country, the Ugandan Prime Minister, Mr Otema Allimadi, held talks in the Libyan capital indicating that the Jamahiriya's firm rebuttal of the charges had been accepted in Kampala.

In Kampala a radio commentary said that the talks, on 11th August, had been conducted 'in an atmosphere of frankness and friendliness', and added that both sides were satisfied with the results.

The Ugandan allegations included claims that the Jamahiriya was supplying arms and equipment to forces opposed to the government of President Milton Obote. However, independent observers point out that the Jamahiriya's past involvement in the country would almost certainly provide the opportunity for Libyan arms to have fallen into the hands of rebel groups without the knowledge or complicity of Tripoli.

Evidence said to support the Ugandan claim that Libya had provided training for opposition guerrillas was fabricated, according to a spokesman for the >



Palestinian fighter evacuates Beirut: his mother remains

# PLO evacuation: Arabs rebuked

THE JAMAHIRIYA's Foreign Liaison Secretary, Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, on 15th August met with the ambassadors to Tripoli of Arab countries that had agreed to receive Palestinian fighters evacuated from Beirut, and warned that by accepting the guerrillas, non-front line Arab states were in effect assisting Israel and the US.

The dispersal of Palestinian commandos in distant Arab lands meant acceptance of Israel's fait accompli, and participation in implementing the American-

With the controversy erupting only weeks before the Jamahiriya was due to host the OAU summit, there is strong speculation that the CIA 'dirty-tricks department' was involved in supplying the 'evidence' to the Ugandan authorities.

'Development of co-operation

Israeli plan to neutralise the

Palestinian resistance movement.

said Mr Ubeidi. Such acceptance,

he added, meant that, instead of

exerting efforts to expell the

Lebanon, the Arabs were merely

aiding the eviction of the Pales-

Any Arab country, other than

the front-line states of Syria,

Lebanon and Jordan, that agreed

to shelter Palestinian fighters,

for whatever reason, would be

'branded by all Arab citizens for

treason', said Mr Ubeidi, adding

that their decision was unforgiv-

able because it had been taken in

response to a call by 'several

Palestinian leaders whose sin-

cerity is questionable'.

tinians from the country.

invaders

from

Israeli

at all levels', and the 'revitalisation of all economic organisations' were among the areas of agreement in a document on bilateral relations signed by the Ugandan Premier and the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, according to a JANA report on 11th August.

# Fez Summit condemned

THE RECONVENING of the Arab summit in Fez, with the Fahd plan at the top of the agenda, had 'the sole aim of consolidating the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and finalising the evacuation of the Palestinians,' the Political Editor of the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA has declared, adding that this 'can only serve US-Zionist objectives which have no connection whatsoever to Arab national aspirations'.

The eight-point Fahd Plan for a 'settlement of the Palestine question', was first broached in August last year, and calls for the surrender to the Zionists of all those parts of Palestine seized in 1948. Divisions over the plan caused the breakdown of last November's Arab summit in Fez.

JANA's political editor accused reactionary Arab regimes that were promoting the Fahd plan of 'treason, and collusion with a Zionist-US scheme against the Arab nation'.

# Egypt: Call for boycott of Israel

OPPOSITION LEADERS in Egypt have demanded a boycott of all Israeli and United

States goods and interests, in protest at the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. They have also called for an end to all dealings between Egypt and the Zionist state.

Addressing a joing press conference in Cairo, Mr Khalid Muhieddine, leader of the Progressive Nationalist Unionist Party, and Mr Ibrahim Shukri, who heads the Socialist Labour Party, strongly supported the stand of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, saying that their steadfastness would spur the Arab people into action, making their will felt by their 'tyrant rulers'.

# Messages from Peking and Moscow

THE LIBYAN leader Muammer Qadhafi has been in contact with the Soviet and Chinese leaderships over the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon. Although the contents of President Brezhnev's response to an earlier letter from Qadhafi were not disclosed in JANA's brief 10th August report, the views of the Chinese leader Zhoa Ziyand, Chairman of the State Council were made available by the Jamahiriya News Agency on the same day.

Israel's 'barbaric aggression',

said Peking, was 'an insolent attack against the sovereignty of an Arab country'. China supported, it continued, 'a just and comprehensive solution' to the Middle East crisis, 'based on the respect of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the sovereignty and security of the regional territories of Arab countries'.

'Agreement and harmony between Arab states and Third World countries' was important to realise these objectives, said Chairman Zhoa.

☐ A report on the emerging relationship between Libya and China appears on page 12.

# Guinea-Bissau gets some credit

THE LATEST example of Libya's aid programme to developing states in the Third World came on 11th August, when an agreement was signed in Tripoli for the establishment of a joint credit company with the African state of Guinea-Bissau, while another agreement was initialled by both counties calling for increased economic, financial and cultural co-operation.

The joint credit company is intended to assist in the country's development of natural resources and improve economic progress. The Jamahiriya's aid programme rests heavily on the creation of joint banks and companies. A special report on Libya's aid programme appeared in the August issue of Jamahiriya Review.

# Lebanese people 'real target' of invasion

A WARNING that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon had not been aimed primarily at expelling the Palestinians, but at bringing the Lebanese people under Zionist hegemony has come from revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi.

In a message to Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and to nationalist and Muslim leaders such as Nabil Berri of the Islamic Amal militia, Colonel Qadhafi said that Israel's plan was 'first to neutralise, and finally to destroy, Lebanon'.

The Zionists had singled out Lebanon because of its support for the Palestinian people, he explained, and the massacres of Muslim civilians were 'an act of revenge'.

The Libyan leader stressed that a key fact was being ignored: that Lebanon was an indepen-

dent, sovereign country, whose people the Zionists were attempting to annihilate. Israel's largely successful efforts to distort the true nature of the invasion were aimed at depriving Lebanon of its right to self defence, to take action commensurate with its independent status, he added.

'Why has Lebanon not called on the Arab League to implement the Collective Arab Defence Charter, which provides for any Arab victim of aggression to invoke aid from all other Arab countries?' asked Muammer Qadhafi. 'Why has Lebanon not called on the UN Security Council to deal with the situation as one of war between Lebanon and the Zionists, as an aggression involving an independent and sovereign state?'

The Libyan leader stressed that Israel was moving to dominate all of Lebanon, acting through its allies, the right wing Phalangist forces. For Muslims and nationalists, the choice would be extermination or expulsion from their country, and, calling for such atrocities to be firmly resisted, he concluded by reaffirming that Lebanon had the right to call for any outside help necessary for its defence.

remaining belongings.

Below: Victim of an 11 hour Israeli attack on Beirut with her only

Student responsibilities for the new generation

LIBYA'S STUDENTS have a special responsibility for the promotion of 'the Revolution's ideology among the new generation', they were told on 12th August, when Major Khweildi Hamidi, Commander of Military Urbanization, opened the first meeting of the People's Congresses and Committees for students in the city of Misrata. It was also their duty to protect the Revolution.

It was not the aim of the Revolution, nor its leader Muammer Oadhafi, to seize the seats of power in Libva. The aim was to place power in the hands of the people, in a decentralised participatory system. He told the students: 'As we see now, power in the Jamahiriya is in the hands of the people, who, whether in distant villages or in the desert, meet to make decisions on matters concerning them. Wealth belongs to the community, and there are huge projects whose benefits are reaped by everyone.

Advocating the concept espoused by the Revolution that 'arms should be in the hands of the people', he warned that this was to ensure that no minority, in possession of arms, could impose its will on the majority. Moreover, he pointed to the fact that enemy bombs do not differentiate between civilian and military. The situation in Beirut

this fact.

Algeria and Vietnam provided two examples in modern times when an armed people had achieved victory over conventional armies of major industrialised powers, Khweildi stressed. Military training, he explained to the students, could not be restricted to a limited period. For the new generation 'it is an integrated plan aimed at the military training of combatants capable of forming a stiff fighting unit' which could not be limited to a definite period.

provided a powerful example of

# Saharans must show flexibility

IN THE interests of the Organisation of African Unity, the Saharan Democratic Republic must show 'some political flexibility' on the question of its attendance at the OAU summit. This is the view expressed by Libya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, Mr Abulati Ubeidi.

His remarks were made in an interview with Agence France Press on 9th August, during which he said the Western Saharan issue was, rightly or wrongly, used by some countries as a pretext for not attending the OAU summit in Tripoli.

The meeting of African leaders agreed to the formation of a Liaison Committee to prepare once again for the OAU summit which should have opened on 5th August, but was unable to do so for procedural reasons. The six country committee, including Libya, Congo, Mali, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, will meet again during the first week of September to assess their talks with those African states which did not attend the planned OAU summit. Mr Ubeidi disclosed. ☐ A special report on the African summit in Tripoli appears on page 9.



# Saudi role in Islam challenged

THERE IS no contradiction between revolution and religion, at least so far as Islam is concerned, the Libyan leader Muammer Oadhafi told the 2nd Islamic >

Mr Gaoud told the Ugandans

# Racists' bomb kills Ruth First

RUTH FIRST, one of the most prominent opponents of the apartheid regime in South Africa was killed in Maputo, capital of Mozambique on 18th August when a parcel bomb exploded in her office. It is widely accepted that she was the latest target of South Africa's intelligence agency which is waging a relentless war against militants and critics of the apartheid regime.

For most of her life she was active in the struggle against racism in South Africa, and before being exiled from her homeland for her active role in the African National Congress, Ms First has been imprisoned and put on trial for her powerful writings against apartheid. In 1956 she was arrested with 156 others and involved in a lengthy treason trial. Again in 1963 she was arrested again, and held in solitary confinement for 117 days without trial.

She later lived in exile in London with her husband Joe Slovo, a leading ANC ideologist. For the past two years she lived in Maputo, where she was director of research at the Mondlane University Centre of African Studies.

Her interests went beyond those

> Call Conference in Tripoli on 8th

August. But he could not accept

that Saudi Arabia was morally

fit to make any claim as a spokes-

man for Islam. Instead, Qadhafi

called for the creation of a poli-

tical league for all Muslims, which

he proposed should replace the

With the Saudi regime firmly

controlled by the United States,

the Libyan leader suggested that

the Islamic Call should devote

Islamic World League con-

trolled by the Saudi regime.



of southern Africa. During her exile in London Ruth First gave her support also to the Palestinian struggle against Zionist Israel, and emphasised the common struggle against settler colonialism and racism which links the Palestinian and South African causes. Her rejection of Zionism came at a time when such views were not fashionable in antiapartheid circles in London.

During the early 1970s she visited Libva several times to research her book Libva: The Elusive Revolution (Penguin, 1974), a work which provided an insight into the changing face of Libya, but which also betrayed her own impatience for fast, radical change.

Libyan Arab proposal,' he declared. On the subject of Islam and

Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi mocked those who assert that Socialism and Islam are incompatible. In the Jamahiriya, the Al Fateh Revolution preached socialism based on Islam. The Green Book, Qadhafi's own ideological concept of the Third Universal Theory, was 'an interpretation of the Koran's texts,' said the Libyan leader.

However, he went on to accuse the Muslim Brotherhood of being against Arab unity and 'the true course of Islam'. It was, he added, supported by the CIA.

Further reports on the Islamic Call conference, and Islam's role in Africa, appears on page 16.

# **Boost for** Saharan Republic

AN IMPORTANT boost for the Polisario Front's efforts to strengthen recognition for the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic came on 3rd August when the Venezuelan Foreign Affairs Ministry announced in a communiqué that it recognises SADR as a sovereign state.

The announcement is a setback for Morocco's efforts to maintain control over the SADR which King Hassan's regime seized when Spain relinquished its colonial hold over the territory.

Venezuela has a moderate pro-Western regime, and the announcement can be expected to set the lead for other Latin American governments which are traditionally aligned with the United States. Washington recently signed a military agreement with Morocco, aimed at strengthening Rabat's war against Polisario, as well as ensuring the survival of the Hassan

its energies to the liberation of the holy shrine at Mecca. Describing the Saudi royal

family as 'the most corrupt and backward lot', the Libyan leader accused the United States of 'leading a tenth Crusade against Muslims, using Saudi oil'.

'We challenge these rulers to halt oil supplies to America, sever their political links with it, and to send a military division to take part in evicting the Zionist enemy, in accordance with the **Islamic study** centre reopens in China

THE ISLAMIC Studies Centre in Beijing has reopened after a closure of 16 years, according to a JANA report from China. The Director of the Centre said that from Sentember the Centre will start to send scholarship students to Islamic countries for the first time since the practice stopped in 1949.

# The American way of life through the barrel of a gun

THE UNITED States will resort to military means to impose its influence and control over the Western hemisphere. On 11th August the Senate voted to prevent by any means, 'including the use of arms', the extension of Cuban influence.

On the same day, the House overwhelmingly approved plans for the establishment of Radio Martin, a government financed propaganda and disinformation service which will be beamed to Cuba from its base in Florida.

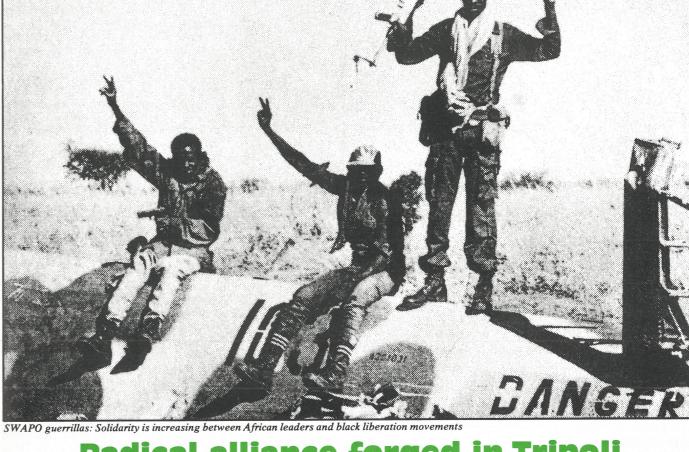
# International court hears dispute

MALTA AND the Libvan Jamahiriya have submitted their longstanding territorial dispute to the International Court of Justice, the court said in The Hague on 30th July.

The two countries had earlier notified the Hague court of a 1976 agreement, ratified by them in March this year, to submit the dispute involving oil drilling on the continental shelf. Malta wants the 200 miles of sea separating the two countries to be evenly divided for oil exploration, according to a Reuter report, which says that Libya claims a larger share because of its longer coast-

The decision of the two countries to take the case to the International Court was the result of an unexpected visit to Valetta by the Libyan leader Muammer Oadhafi in March as he was returning from his visit to Vienna for talks with Chancellor Kreisky.

According to reports from The Hague, the Court has fixed the time limit for filing the first written pleadings by each party at 26th April 1983.



# Radical alliance forged in Tripoli

and Jon Bearman explain.

IF WASHINGTON had hoped to score a victory over the Libyan leader Muammer Oadhafi by undermining the Organisation of African Unity summit, it is now clear that the Americans gravely misjudged the depth of African nationalist feeling.

For several months the Americans, through their surrogate allies in Africa, had been working to block the summit by pressuring African leaders not to attend, thereby leaving the meeting with the quorum of 34 countries attending. In the event the attendance dipped just below the required number, although in terms of representation by heads of state and government, the Tripoli meeting exceeded any previous OAU summit. 31 African states attended. 23 represented by their Heads of State.

The outcome was a summit of progressive African leaders, and a renewed commitment to reconvene the OAU summit after consultations with OAU members governments. But the boycott by the pro-American regimes provided an important opportunity for progressive African leaders to examine the problems facing the continent. The results may be the exact opposite of what the Americans had hoped to achieve.

It now seems that within the OAU, and the international community as a whole, the pace of African thinking on major issues, including independence ween African countries, but will have the the venue from Tripoli to elsewhere. >

AFRICAN RADICALS forged a new alliance during the Tripoli summit during August. American efforts to disrupt the OAU appear to have backfired as Louis Eaks

for Namibia and the liberation struggle in South Africa, will be increasingly influenced by the nationalist thinking which provides common ground between the leaders represented in Tripoli, including Muammer Qadhafi from Libya, Robert Mugabe from Zimbabwe, Julius Nyerere from Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, and Chadli Benjedid of Algeria. Between them they personify the liberation struggles of the Third World.

One outcome of the Tripoli summit was that Muammer Oadhafi, the Leader of the Libyan Revolution, was unequivocally declared the spokesman best fitted to represent the African continent over the coming year. In his new role the Libyan leader will not only have the important task of mediating in the disputes bet-

heavy responsibility for presenting African interests and perspectives on an international level, including at the United Nations.

As the continent has become gripped by escalating conflicts and crises, members of the OAU have increasingly looked to Libya, with its firm and unswerving defence of African independence, to provide bold leadership in the face of the challenges posed by their non-aligned stance by primarily South African and American economic subversion.

### Back from the brink

Libya was formally requested to host the OAU summit at last year's meeting in Kenya. The majority of African leaders present at the Nairobi summit turned to Libya for a venue because they believed the Jamahiriya's wide experience of African affairs could help pull the fragmented organisation round from the brink of collapse.

But the decision to hold the summit in Tripoli was vehemently opposed by America's client-states in Africa. Led by King Hassan of Morroco, who has recently signed a military pact with the United States, they conducted a disgraceful and vitriolic campaign to change



People of the Western Sahara: growing diplomatic recognition of their right to independence

Dut when it became clear their campaign to change the velue was an abysmal failure, they resorted to outright sabotage. They chose instead to boycott the summit, hoping to prevent the OAU from achieving the quorum of 34 necessary to reach constitutionally valid decisions.

In defence, Morocco, which is fighting a rearguard war against the Polisario Front liberation movement in Western Sahara, claimed that its participation would be tantamount to recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) declared by the Polisario in Western Sahara, admitted to the OAU at a meeting in Addis Abbaba earlier this year.

But it was doubtful extenuation. Morocco and a number of other recalcitrant American surrogates opposed to the SADR, known in African circles as the non-rasdistes, purposely blew up the issue as a smokescreen to cover their abject submission to American bullying tactics.

Aware of the danger posed to the organisation by the American interference, radical African leaders rallied to the Jamahiriya's support. Mozambiquan President Samora Machel warned African countries should beware of imperialists bearing gifts. 'We have a habit of seeing the weapons of the West as our weapons, but they are the weapons which have violated our dignity and moral fibre,' he remarked to Libvan leaders.

### French influence

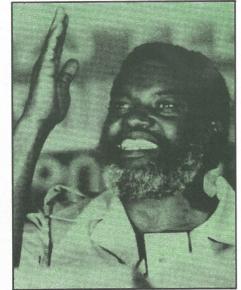
Some extra, though unexpected, backing for the summit came from France. Following the visit of French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson to the Libyan Jamahiriya in June, the Quay d'Orsay in Paris has used its influential offices with a number of African countries friendly with France to raise the turn out for the summit.

By the time the summit was due to open on 8th August, 31 African countries were represented in Tripoli, just below the required quorum. But leaders of the Jamahiriya were not dismayed. As the African leaders who had arrived in Tripoli, including 23 heads of state, all had proven commitments to the organisation, the possibility of the OAU to realise a real and positive strategy for Africa was enhanced.

Accepting Muammer Qadhafi's appeal not to let the summit become sidetracked by the ploys of American imperialism, the delegates agreed that the conference should proceed in accordance with resolutions passed at the 18th OAU conference in Kenva.

The Libyan leader suggested that, should the boycotting countries persist with their efforts to paralyse the OAU, the countries at the conference were entitled to form a new organisation which could meet in Tripoli again, with their own administrative machinery, 'to decide on the continent's future'.

prepared to give them a chance to rectify it was Moroccan forces which had per- alignment.



the damage. Together with Congo, Mali. Zambia and Tanzania, he said Libya would form a team which would canvas support among them for a second summit to be held later this year.

### Sacrifices

For the sake of African unity he urged that the countries represented at the summit should continue to respect the OAU Charter. 'In our eagerness to maintain African unity we are prepared to make sacrifices,' declared the Libyan leader.

After the overture, in effect an olive branch to the member states, the delegates assembled at the People's Hall in Tripoli finally settled down to the business on the agenda. The first and most pressing issue before them was a discussion on African liberation movements.

Speaking first, the head of the delegation from Lesotho, a country completely landlocked by South Africa, told delegates that his country was a victim of a large scale economic embargo launched by the Pretoria regime.

But the stranglehold, he added, wasn't just limited to Lesotho. It was, he told the conference, extended over the frontline states. He pointed out that the Pretoria regime had even created a number of centres for the military training of rebels and mercenaries and employed them to carry out sabotage operations within the frontline states, especially Angola.

Confirming his comments, President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola said the Pretoria regime was using its army for aggression against Angola and that more than 11,000 racist troops, backed by aircraft and modern heavy weapons had attacked his country, occupying large areas of land. He concluded by saying that his people would continue to resist with all their strength.

President Mohammed Abdulazziz, representing the OAU's newest member, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, told delegates how his country was also But the Libyan leader said he was first the 'victim of treacherous attacks'. Whilst

petrated them, he noted that South Africa had strongly supported Morocco.

To combat such aggression the President emphasised the urgent need for cooperation between liberation movements in Africa. As a symbolic gesture of solidarity with the liberation movements of southern Africa, he said his country had decided to donate to them arms captured from Morocco which were made in South Africa.

Sam Nujoma, the leader of SWAPO, the liberation movement fighting for the independence of Namibia, said it was highly appropriate that at a time when the African continent was the target of attacks and subversion by the United States and its proxies, that the liberation movements of Africa were meeting 'in a land of revolutionaries who stood against imperialism and backed African national liberation movements'.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was also glad the summit was being held in Libya. Acting in the knowledge that a revolutionary country like Libya would stand behind his people, he was certain of their 'readiness to make more sacrifices until they were finally free from colonial hegemony'.

Further praise for Libya's strong backing for liberation movements in Africa came from Madagascan President Didier Rasiraka. Few countries on the continent could boast such a fine record of defending African interests as Libya, he declared.

President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, Prime Minister Aneerood Jagnauth of Mauritius, President Joao Bernardo 'Nino' Viero of Guinea-Bissau, President Chadli Beniedid of Algeria, President Samora Machel of Mozambique and President Nverere of Tanzania were among other African leaders who added their support for Libyan leadership of

Summarising their attitude to the summit President Nyerere, the elder statesman of the group, said: 'I have attended a number of conferences and never seen as many leaders, nor as much importance given to them. They usually make speeches and leave the conference. However, in this conference they sit for hours, contribute and discuss until the end.'

'This conference,' finished the Tanzanian leader, 'has made them responsible for reuniting Africa into a complete African summit according to the OAU Charter and the implementation of the Nairobi resolutions. What we would like is that you lead the organisation and become Africa's spokesman at the UN all Africa, not part of it.'

At the conclusion of the summit radical African leaders, including Tanzania's Nverere, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Algeria's Benjedid and Zambia's Kaunda put their names to the Libvan inspired Tripoli Charter, a key manifesto which outlines the priorities for Africa — the first serious attempt to thrash out a strategy for African independence, unity and non-

'ISRAEL OFFICIALS say that the 10week invasion of Lebanon has been far less burdensome than either the 1967 or 1973 Arab-Israeli wars and that they do not expect to ask for additional economic or military aid from the United States,' the International Herald Tribune announced on 14th August.

What the paper did not say was that Israel had no need to replenish its weapons stocks from US arsenals because Washington had already supplied the required arms in the months leading up to the invasion. Aware of the wide identification of the US with Israel's long history of expansionism, Washington hoped to deflect from itself the international outrage that it knew the aggression would provoke.

Details of Washington's semi-secret supply operation were revealed by Claudia Wright in the New Statesman on 20th August. 'Pentagon figures just released in response to a Freedom of Information Act request, reveal a massive surge of military supplies to Israel in the first three months of this year — as Israel planned the invasion of Lebanon,' said Ms Wright. The figures show that in the first quarter of this year Israel took delivery of \$217,695,000 worth of military equipment from the US. Claudia Wright commented: 'This is almost ten times the value of US military goods delivered to Israel in the same period of 1980. It is almost 50 per cent greater than the value of deliveries at the same time last year.'

The Pentagon figures showed that the main weaponry involved were ten F-15 fighter-bombers, fourteen tank recovery vehicles, nineteen self-propelled 155mm howitzers, and over \$6 million worth of bombs and ammunition.

### Extensively used

Claudia Wright says: 'The tank recovery vehicles have been extensively used in the fighting in Lebanon, and the 155mm howitzers, shipped from the US early this year, have been the main source of artillery fire raining down on Beirut for weeks.'

The Pentagon has yet to release arms delivery figures for the April to June period, but Claudia Wright quotes a Defense Department spokesman as confirming that 25 M-60 tanks were handed over to Israel in May, and another 15 in June. She comments: 'In the figures just released, going back to 1980, there is nothing comparable to this rate of tank shipments.'

The Pentagon figures for the first quarter of 1982 show that Israel also took delivery of fourteen 'guided bombs', at a cost of \$4.4 million. These highly sophisticated weapons are widely believed to have been used in Israel's attack in 1980 on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Hamra Street in West Beirut, trapping or killing over 100 people.



# Israel's US arms pipeline: business as usual

ISRAEL'S SAVAGE invasion of Lebanon was possible only because of the massive economic and military aid donated to Tel Aviv by Washington. There is clear evidence that the US this year boosted arms deliveries to the Zionists in the full knowledge that they would be used in another assault on the Arabs.

### Complicity

Official US denials of any increase in arms supplies to Israel in the weeks preceding the invasion have fuelled suspicions of direct collusion by Washington in the invasion. On 11th June, a week after Zionist forces entered Lebanon, Col Mark Foutch, a Pentagon spokesman, told the New Statesman that there had been no surge of arms supplies, adding that such an event was impossible in an arms programme that had been planned years in advance.

But, as Claudia Wright says: 'At the very least an extraordinary coincidence 1951. has occurred between US weapons delivery schedules and Israeli military plans for that Israel was stockpiling at a massive 'We are conducting business as usual, and costly rate. It is inconceivable us following national policy.'

officials failed to anticipate what this stockpile was for.'

The revelations of Washington's stepped-up arms supplies to Israel prior to the invasion confirm that the US is prepared to support even the most naked Israeli aggression, and the move is fully in keeping with Washington's past record. Israel can maintain its economy - let alone its military potential — only through a massive US economic and military aid programme, which is currently running at \$1.4 billion in military grants and credits each year and \$785 million in economic aid which goes into the Zionist state's general treasury funds. For the fiscal year beginning on 1st October, President Reagan has requested the same amount of economic aid, and an increase in military support to \$1.7 billion.

Highlighting the extent of US aid to Israel, the Washington Post on 21st June said: 'This year alone the Israeli government will spend \$5.5 million on defence. One out of three of the dollars will come from the US Treasury.'

The paper added that apart from a few French aircraft and British tanks, almost all of Israel's military equipment comes from the US, under Washington's foreign military sales programme, from which Israel has received \$15 billion of the \$28 billion distributed worldwide since

That the US has no intention of using its aid programme as a means of restraining Baghdad, and are also thought to have Lebanon. Starting three months before Israel, even after the invasion of Lebanon, created the destruction on 6th August of a the invasion commenced, the Pentagon was confirmed by the Washington Post, multi-storey apartment building near must have seen the build-up and known which quoted a Pentagon official as saying:



Irrigation: one of the planned areas of co-operation

# The road to Peking

A HIGH ranking delegation from the Libyan Jamahiriya has been touring the People's Republic of China in the latest example of the fast improving relations between the two countries. Until a few months ago Tripoli and Peking stood apart on issues ranging from the Camp David accords to America's role in the Third World. Bitterly disappointed by Peking's alignment with Cairo and Washington, the Jamahiriya's General People's Congress broke diplomatic ties with China in

However, following a series of moves over recent months, the rift appears well healed. Leading the Libyan delegation to China during mid-August was the Secretary of the General People's Committee (a post equivalent to Prime Minister in traditional structures of government), Mr Jadallah Azouz Talhi. The rapprochement was signalled in March during a speech by Libya's revolutionary leader Muammer Oadhafi (see inset).

At a banquet given in honour of the visiting Libyans, the Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Mr Zhao Ziyang, declared his country's appreciation of Libya's support for liberation movement in the Third World. The Chinese leader also expressed strong condemnation of the Zionists's 'savage' invasion of Lebanon which he described as a 'war of genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples'.

In his reply, Mr Talhi referred to the Libyan people's own liberation struggle against Italian colonialism in the early twentieth century, which he said would continue to the present day to resist American attempts to secure influence and control over Libya and the wider Arab homeland.

The Libyan envoy stressed that America's intrusion into Libyan territorial waters in the Gulf of Sirte last year, with the shooting down of two Libyan reconnaissance planes, and the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, were two manifestations of a single imperialist strategy to exert control over the region.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a natural consequence of the 'treacherous Camp David accords', Mr Talhi explained. 'America's death and destruction in

IN RECENT months a series of moves in Peking and Tripoli have restored the strong ties between China and Libva which were broken in 1979. Louis Eaks traces recent events which led to a high-ranking Libyan delegation visiting the People's Republic last month, and examines the areas of co-operation which now seem possible.

Palestine and Lebanon, carried out through a Zionist entity which it created, armed and financed, is being planned in other regions, through the creation, arming and financing of other such entities,' he declared, linking the Zionist role in the Arab region with that of the American supported racist regime in South Africa, which is conducting a similar war in Namibia and through that territory on into Angola.

Mr Talhi added, 'We in the Jamahiriya place great importance on joint action between Third World peoples, and believe that the success of these peoples in realising their political, economic and social aspirations depends to a large extent on their co-operation and co-ordination of their efforts.'

It was recognised in the Jamahiriya, Mr Talhi continued, that 'the world economy, battered as it is by various crises and suffering from a widening gap between industrially advanced countries and Third World nations, is only a reflection of the international political structure whose main feature is the attempt by the strong to control developing countries'.

'There is an urgent need for us, the developing world, to realise this reality and translate our response into action,' he added.

The Jamahiriya and China share a common rejection of alignment to the two super powers, the Libyan envoy asserted. China had 'a principal role in the Third World's battle for achieving political and economic freedom and foiling attempts at polarisation into spheres of influence,' he stressed. The Jamahiriya would welcome co-operation on this important initiative, said Mr Talhi, referring to the traditions of Arab-Chinese relations, which he described as being 'as old as history'.

'Both Arab and Chinese cultures have played a positive role in enriching human civilisation.' Mr Talhi emphasised.

Ceremony and speech-making aside, Libva and China got down to examining the ways and means by which the two countries could co-operate on a range of issues to their respective and mutual interest.

With the Libvan delegation were the Secretaries (Ministers) of communication and marine transport, and economy and light industry, together with a number of experts from various other secretariats. China was represented by ministers for industry, trade and foreign affairs.

JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, reports from Beijing that talks covered bilateral relations, and development of economic, trade and technical co-operation, during which it was agreed to establish joint committees for economic, trade and technical affairs. In an opening speech prior to the talks, Premier Zhao Zivang stressed Peking's desire to develop and strengthen bilateral relations with the Jamahiriya. Specific areas of co-operation are reported to include communications, railways, roads, housing, dam and irrigation terraces, along with health and popular education.

# **Friendly moves**

IN 1979 the General People's Congress meeting in Tripoli decided to break relations with China over Peking's continued ties with the Sadat regime following the Camp David

### March 1982:

Addressing an international forum in Tripoli, Muammer Qadhafi regrets China's absence, adding that the meeting 'would be wise to leave the door open for China'

Mr Hua Yong, a special envoy from Peking

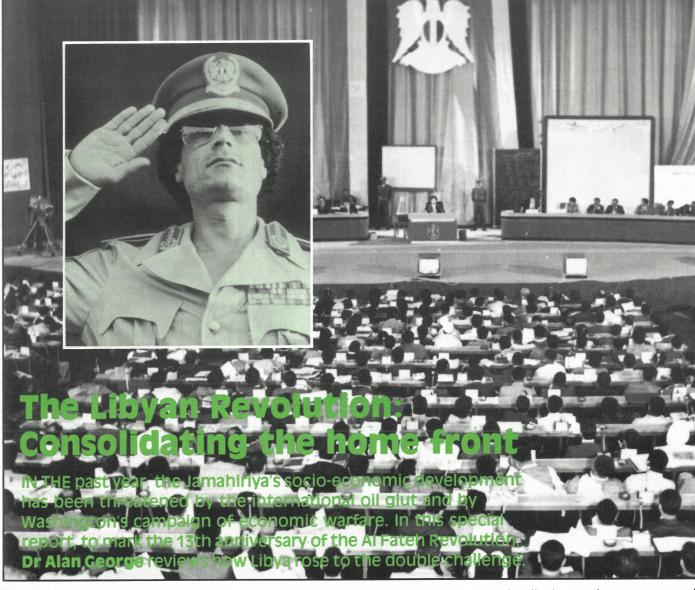
visits Tripoli for talks with Major Jalloud and Foreign Secretary Ubeidi.

Libya and China sign an agreement to expand trade ties.

Muammer Qadhafi receives Peking's Ambassador to the Jamahiriya.

### **August 1982:**

A high ranking Libyan delegation led by the Secretary of the General People's Committee visits China.



THE THIRTEENTH anniversary of the Al to make it more difficult for progressive growth, allowing much greater economic Fatch Revolution, on 1st September this countries to sell their higher-priced oil. year, marks the end of a year in which the Jamahiriya was preoccupied with consolidating its social and economic gains, in the face of severe threats posed by the international oil glut and by an economic boycott imposed by the Reagan administration. After a difficult period of falling oil revenues, the outlook is now much brighter, not least because of the determined measures taken by the Libyan people to cut costs and increase efficiency at home.

The economic climate was the main focus of debate at January's seventh ordinary session in Tripoli of the General People's Congress, the Libyan legislature. Reviewing conditions in the world oil market, the Jamahiriya's Petroleum Secretary, Abdesalam Zaager, told the GPC that a number of major oil producing states had deliberately increased output beyond their needs, to create an international oil glut. It was widely believed that Washington had a hand in master- remained in tune with the overall minding the glut, since most of the culprits maintained close relations with the

'The conspiracy has created an oil glut of 3.5 million barrels of oil per day worldwide, and another 3.5 million barrels that are the result of stockpiling,' declared Mr Zaager, adding that although Libya's oil sales had fallen during 1981, the Jamahiriva was determined to overcome the difficulties by cutting costs and expenses'.

Mr Zaager's call for economies was reflected in a number of major resolutions adopted by the GPC, and was most notably evident in the annual development budget, which is fixed each January by the GPC. The 1982 budget was set at LD 2.6 billion, a five per cent decrease over the 1981 total, with the notable exception of communications and marine transport, whose allocation was increased by LD 49 million.

The development budget nevertheless priorities of the \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan, which aims to lay the

independence. The key to the plan — like earlier Libyan development plans — is a diversification of the economy by boosting new enterprises in the non-oil productive sectors of industry, agriculture and power generation, while at the same time scaling down the relative importance of the oil industry. Heavy and light industry are accorded the largest share of planned investments - LD 3.9 billion, accounting for 23 per cent of total planned outlays. Agriculture comes in second place, with spending set at LD 3.1 billion, while LD 2 billion is earmarked for electric power and associated water desalination operations. All told, these key non-oil productive sectors account for more than half the total planned investments. By contrast, only LD 200 million will be spent on the oil sector.

## Foreign workers

One of the major drains on Libya's finances is the large expatriate community. The Jamahiriya, like all Third World countries, suffers from a shortage of technical and managerial skills amongst its citizens, US, and one important consequence was foundations for self-sustained economic and although the acquisition of such



New Faculty of Agriculture is planned for Gar Younis

# Skills for a modern economy

1981-85 development plan is the need for Libvan citizens to acquire the skills to enable them to run their country free from undue dependence on experts from overseas. This emphasis was strongly reflected in a number of resolutions adopted at the January meeting of the General People's Congress, the Libyan legislature, which will bring important changes to the education system in the Jamahiriya. The GPC resolved to encourage earlier specialisation by students. Secondary schools will gradually be phased out, to be replaced by specialised training institutes, with courses linked to those in Libya's universities. It was also agreed that post graduate education generally should be given much greater emphasis.

The past year has seen major additions to the Jamahiriya's educational infrastructure, which have underlined the drive to train Libyans in skills relevant for a modern economy. In November revolutionary leader Muammer Oadhafi formally opened the Jamahiriya's first technical university. Located at the coastal town of Marsa Brega, the university specialises in subjects related to oil and engineering, and will have an eventual student population of 1,700. In addition to a range of well-equipped laboratories, there are seven lecture theatres in the integrated complex, which has about 1,000 rooms.

over a three-year period, at a cost of LD 30 million, by a joint venture development plan.

A RECURRING theme of Libya's of two of Switzerland's leading construction firms. Preiswerk of Basle and Frutigen of Thun. Another LD 2 million will be spent on utilities such as power and air conditioning, and a further LD 1 million on furniture and laboratory equipment. A student village is to be added to the teaching complex.

The Marsa Brega University will become the Jamahiriya's centre for technical training, and will incorporate a number of existing colleges and university faculties, for example the Mining and Petroleum Faculty of Al Fateh University in Tripoli, and the Brak Institute of Technology.

The expansion programme at the Jamahiriya's other two universities. Gar Younis in Benghazi, and Al Fateh in Tripoli, has also continued over the past year. In October it was announced that the Swiss Geilinger company had been awarded a \$50 million contract to build a Faculty of Agriculture for Gar Younis, to be located at the town of Beida, some 200 kilometres north east of Benghazi. The twostorey building will cover more than 28,000 square metres, will have 1,500 students and 150 staff, and should be completed at the end of next year.

In March it was revealed that the Yugoslavian Rad concern had won a \$67.5 million contract to built a pharmacy faculty at Al Fateh University. The new building, being erected on a 40,000 square metre site, will be completed in 1984, and will be a landmark in the completion of the The Technical University was built entire Al Fateh University complex, which is a key project in the 1981-85 expertise by Libyans is a key aim of the 1981-85 plan, overseas experts will have an important contribution to make for some years to come. At the same time, Libya's small population - just over three million - means that the country's labour force is anyway limited, leading to shortages even of unskilled workers.

Addressing the GPC in January, Civil Service Secretary Muhammad Abdullah al Mabrouk stressed that the high reliance on foreign workers was at variance with the Jamahiriya's declared aim of economic self-sufficiency. In response, the GPC resolved to place limits on the number of expatriate workers in the country, particularly in the civil service, a move that has saved the Jamahiriya millions of dinars. At the same time, the GPC resolved to scale down the size of the civil service, and divert workers into the directly productive sectors. In a bid to increase administrative efficiency, it was agreed to make greater use of computerised data systems in the civil service.

Economy measures extended even into the Jamahiriya's generous health services. Health Secretary, Mr Ali Lanqi proposed the abolition of free prescriptions for out-patients at hospitals, a move which he said would save Libya some LD 15 million per year and at the same time encourage a more judicious use of medicines. There was a tendency, he said, for the prescription of medicines when they were not really needed.

A similar saving was made in the education sector, by a GPC resolution ending scholarships for study overseas by Libyans, except for instruction that was not available in the Jamahiriva.

The decisions of the January meeting of the GPC were consolidated at a special GPC session held in early March, when a number of measures were adopted reflecting the determination to reduce the civil service and control overall expenditure more carefully. A number of Libyan Secretaries were changed, but the most significant innovation was the merger of the Secretariats of Light Industry and Economy into a single secretariat, and the dissolution of two other Secretariats -Liaison for Internal Affairs and Liaison for Foreign Affairs. The changes meant that the number of Secretariats was reduced from 22 to 19, an important move towards the streamlining of the civil service which was called for by the GPC in January.

The need for an end to bureaucratic bottlenecks was also seen in the changes of Secretaries, with some highly experienced Libvan administrators being moved into key positions. Musa Abu Freiwa, the former Planning Secretary, for example, was appointed Secretary of the new joint Light Industry and Economy Secretariat. Mr Fawzi al Shakshuki became Planning Secretary, and Abdesalam Zaager was replaced s Oil Secretary by Kamal Hassan al Ma, ur. At the same time, there were important changes in the Secretariat of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, stemming from anxieties

expressed by the GPC in January at the pace of agricultural development (see box).

### **US** boycott

The past year has seen a significant escalation in Washington's efforts to destabilise the Jamahiriya, with a shift from open armed aggression to the imposition of economic weapons. In August 1981, the United States Sixth Fleet provoked the Gulf of Sirte incident, when two Libvan fighters were shot down in the Jamahiriya's territorial waters. When this failed to shake the Libvan people's commitment to their revolutionary leadership, Reagan turned to more subtle techniques, with the country's economic wellbeing as the target. On 10th December, following a malevolent disinformation campaign alleging that the Jamahiriya had despatched 'hit squads' to assassinate President Reagan, the White House announced a ban on travel by US citizens to the Jamahiriya, and called on those already there to leave. It was a move aimed clearly at crippling Libya's oil sector, where many US technicians are employed.

Americans working in Libya expressed dismay at Reagan's decision, however, and many simply refused to leave the country, saying that they would be unable to find comparable jobs elsewhere. To replace those that did leave, Libya recruited oil technicians from Canada and West Europe, which had resolutely refused to join Reagan's plan, despite strong pressures from Washington. Other progressive countries, including Iran, also came to the Jamahiriya's aid by sending oil experts.

Faced with the failure of the travel ban to dent Libya's oil revenues, Reagan escalated his economic warfare, and on 10th March banned oil imports to the US of Libvan oil and embargoed the sale of technology to the Jamahiriya. At the same time, efforts were stepped up by the White House to pressure US firms into winding up their operations in Libya. Only the multinational Exxon corporation succumbed, however.

Prior to the embargo, the Jamahiriya had been exporting to the US only about 150,000 barrels of oil per day, and the US action therefore had only a limited impact. Far more significant was the general world oil glut referred to by the Libyan Oil Secretary at the January 1982 meeting of the GPC. In that month, Libyan oil output averaged 0.8 million barrels per day, but in February and March it fell to an average of 0.6 million barrels per day. In April, however, the figure improved to 0.62 million barrels, and the rise has since continued steadily. By July Libya was producing a daily average of 1.3 million barrels.

By aggressive marketing of its oil, and through the sweeping economy measures adopted by the GPC, Libya has weathered the storm, and Reagan's fond hopes of wrecking the Jamahiriva's economy have been dashed.



Population growth increases the urgency for food self-sufficiency

# Moves to boost agriculture

iency in food by the turn of the century a major study of the country's water is a key aim of Libya's planners, but the resources, and to issue a law to agricultural sector has at times been disappointing in recent years. In 1982, it was resolved to issue a law aimed however, firm measures were adopted aimed at improving agricultural output.

clear during the debates of January's GPC meeting, with the General Secretary of the Farmers' Union strongly critical of the alleged inefficiencies by session in March. Mr Aby Zayd the Jamahiriva's General Marketing Company, which is responsible for the distribution of agricultural produce. The Farmers' Union also called for a as a means of raising Libyan production.

While there were suggestions that many of the farmers' grievances tering the Secretariat, each with a stemmed from short-term dislocations caused by the recent abolition of private shops in Libya, the GPC did agree to cultural development programme. institute an urgent study of agricultural marketing, directed at improving the efficiency of the system.

In a speech to the GPC, however, Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Oadhafi hinted that some of the difficulties in Libyan agriculture might be traced to the continued existence of privately-owned farms, and in response, the GPC also resolved to launch a study of private farms, with particular reference 'to their failure to adhere to agricultural directives'. The study would lead to a possible reorganisation of land ownership.

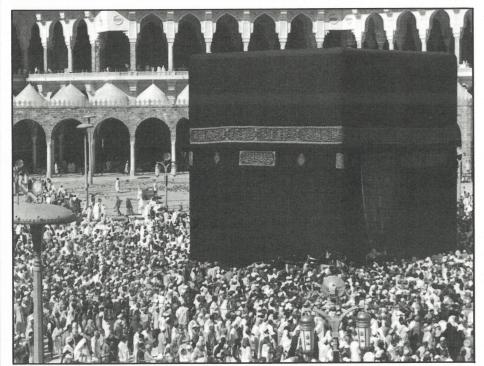
The dramatic growth in Libva's cities in recent years, together with the expansion of industry and irrigated agriculture, has led to enormous increases in the demand for water, which in arid Libya is a resource even more valuable than oil. In some areas, and depleted, and have become contaminated by infiltrating saline water. In a bid to counter this dangerous hold 20,000 chickens.

THE ACHIEVEMENT of self suffic- situation, the GPC decided to launch govern water use. In a related move, at pasture and forest conservation.

The anxieties expressed at the GPC Dissatisfaction over agriculture was in January were reflected in a radical re-organisation of the Secretariat for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, agreed at the special GPC Durdah, formerly Economy Secretary, was appointed as Secretary, in the place of Bashir Jawda who, together with Abdesalam Zaager (formerly Oil reorganisation of the subsidies on meat, Secretary), Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi (Municipalities) and Muftah Ku'aybah (Sport) became members of the People's Committees adminisspecial responsibility for a particular sector of the Jamahiriya's agri-

> The changes in the administrative context, however, have not prevented the launch of new agricultural schemes. The 1981-85 development plan calls for a special emphasis on increasing the production of dairy produce and poultry, to meet the growing demands of Libvans for high-protein diets. Intensive, agri-industrial schemes have proved well-suited to Libya, where the high capital costs pose no major problem, and where labour is in comparatively short supply.

Typical of the schemes launched in the past year were those in a two contract awarded in January to the West German firm of Kathmann Gefluegelbetribe. One of the contracts, valued at \$2 million, was for eleven poultry farms, each with a capacity of 10,000 chickens. The other was worth more than \$2.3 million, and entailed particularly the Jefara Plain, stretching the establishment of a large poulty along the coast west of Tripoli, ground scheme near the town of Agedabiyeh, water reserves have been seriously south west of Benghazi. The project will accommodate 15,000-20,000 laying hens, while a rearing house will



# Africa's Islamic tide

LIBYA'S SIGNIFICANCE as a focus for the aspirations of African and other Muslims was underlined in August by a special conference in Tripoli, hosted by the Jamahiriya's Islamic Call Society. The conference, attended by some 150 Islamic organisations and personalities from around the world, was convened to discuss challenges currently faced Muslims, and how best to encourage the propagation of the faith and the maintenance of authentic Islamic cultures at a time when the western countries. headed by the United States, are pressing hard for the imposition of a bland. global consumer culture, dedicated only to material advancement.

Opening the conference on 14th August, Dr Muhammad Ahmad al Sharif, Secretary of the Islamic Call Society, noted with satisfaction the progress that had been made since the Society's establishment in 1970. Shortly after its inaugural conference, Dr Sharif recalled, the Revolution Command Council, set up in place of the monarchical regime, passed a law giving the Society special status as 'a body enhancing the public good', and placing at its discretion a special 'jihad' (missionary) fund to aid its activities both in Libya and abroad.

He also recalled that in an address to the Society's First Conference in 1970, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi had underlined the key place of Islam in the Libyan Revolution, stressing the need to breathe new life into an Islamic faith that for many had ceased being a source of inspiration.

### Cultural colonialism

**SINCE THE Revolution in** 1969, Libya has become a beacon to Muslims throughout the world. James McAllerton reports on a recent conference on Islam. setting it in the context of the faith's growing appeal in black Africa.

however, was the need to counter the cultural colonialism of the world's leading economic powers. 'Earlier stages of backwardness entailed domination by direct occupation,' he declared. 'Today, however, in response to the growth of Islamic sentiment in recent years, indirect, but equally damaging methods are being employed.' Dr Sharif cited disinformation campaigns in the international mass media as a particularly potent weapon in the hands of those intent on 'expunging the meaning of jihad in our societies, and changing our Islamic outlook'.

Dr Sharif's message is especially relevant for Africa, where Islam has a long history, and the number of Muslims is increasing rapidly. African peoples first came into contact with Islam through the trading activities of the Arabs along the eastern seaboard, and, in the north, across the Sahara desert.

Until the nineteenth century, however, Islam remained essentially the faith of the ruling elites. It was the intrusion of European colonial powers in the last The main thrust of Dr Sharif's message, century that prompted a rapid extension

of the faith amongst the people at large. as Islam increasingly became identified as a key element in the battle against the European armies and culture. Christianity made comparatively little headway in Africa, since it was the religion of the invaders. As former French Minister of Overseas Development Robert Galley said: 'The force of Islam in black Africa is indeed considerable. It can be identified with the struggle against the white man, the wealth and foreign domination. Christianity appears more often as the religion of the former colonial power.'

Islam's success in Africa, however, was more than simply a reaction to imperialism. Islam is in many ways an unstructured religion, and as such is far more tolerant than Christianity, with its strict dogmas. It was much better suited to accommodate the plethora of local African cultures and religions.

## Impressive strides

Islam has made impressive strides in black Africa, and notably in the northern regions bordering the Arab homeland. About 85 per cent of Senegal's population is Muslim, 60 per cent of Mali's, and almost half of Nigeria's. The speed of Islam's growth is underlined by the case of the Mossi tribesmen of Upper Volta. In 1955 only 150,000 of them were Muslims. By 1978 the figure had jumped to 1.5 million.

The Libyan Jamahiriya, through the Islamic Call Society, is playing an important role in fostering Islam in Africa. In conjunction with the United Arab Emirates, Libya has financed the construction of a number of well-equipped Islamic cultural centres in African capitals. The latest opened in Rwanda in June last year, another is under construction in the Gambian capital Bangui and tenders have been invited for another, in Lome, capital of Togo. In addition to a mosque, each centre has schools, libraries, lecture halls and medical dispensaries.

In May this year, the Libyan News Agency JANA announced that the Islamic Call Society was to step up its missionary and aid programme in Africa. The agency said that teams of doctors, engineers and students would be sent to a number of African countries.

Today, however, with the western powers, headed by the US, vigorously moving to secure their economic and cultural dominance of the Third World, and with Africa as a prime target, all the strengths of Islam will be put to the test. This was a consistent theme of the Islamic Call Conference in Tripoli, which in particular stressed the need for unity amongst Muslims. Dr Muhammad Kamal Hassan, of the Malaysian National University, for example, who addressed the conference on the topic of 'freedom', said that the dangers posed by neo-colonialism could be countered only if Muslims throughout the world adopted a concerted

'LIBYA SHOULD still be regarded as one of the more promising markets in the Middle East, notwithstanding its current cashflow difficulties.' That is the verdict of a new report on the Jamahiriya's economy and its current 1981-85 development plan, prepared by the Department of Trade-financed Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET). The report says that British firms have been slow to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by Libya's ambitious development programmes since the 1969 Revolution, and urges them to pay 'close attention' to a market which 'with its very substantial investment commitments and its dependence on imports of goods, services and skills, is bound to start moving again, once the oil situation has stabilised.'

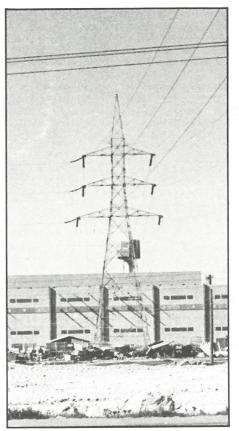
The COMET report, which is aimed specifically at identifying business opportunities for British firms, is the latest sign of the concerted effort by both Britain and the Jamahiriya to improve their trade ties. The process was inaugurated last autumn with the visit to the UK by Mr Omar Muntasser, Libya's Secretary for Heavy Industry. In talks with high level trade officials, Mr Muntasser stressed that Libva wanted much greater involvement by British firms in its development programme. He told Jamahiriya Review (November 1981): 'There are good opportunities for British firms, and they should seize them.'

Following Mr Muntasser's visit — the first by such a high-ranking Libyan official since 1971 — a British delegation visited Tripoli to assess the potential for expanding trade. Delegation leader Roy Williams, an Under Secretary at the Department of Trade, told Jamahiriya Review (March 1982) that the mission had been 'made most welcome by everyone we met', and had 'learned a great deal about the Libyan development plan, and the opportunities there are for the development of trade'. Shortly after the delegation's return, COMET started work on its report on the 1981-85 development plan.

### **Key aspects**

The new report highlights two key aspects of the Jamahiriya's plan: the sheer scale of the projected investments, and the heavy emphasis on diversifying the economy away from its dependence on the oil industry. Total spending is set at \$62.5 billion, with industry and agriculture accounting for the largest sectoral allocations - respectively 23.1 per cent and 18.2 per cent of the total. With investments on electric power and water desalination set at 11.8 per cent of the total, these key non-oil productive sectors will together receive just over half the total investment. In a bid to scale down its relative importance, investments in the oil sector stand at only LD 200 million, a mere 1.2 per cent of total planned invest-

posed by this year's lower oil revenues launching of entirely new schemes.'



Development: the first priority

# Libya: 'A promising market for British firms'

A SPECIAL report on Libya's 1981-85 development plan, highlighting the opportunities for British firms, has just been completed by the **Committee for Middle East** Trade. As Dr Alan George reports, the new study should prove invaluable for companies trading with Tripoli.

will have caused some re-thinking by Libyan planners. Its cites official Libyan statements as suggesting that, as general rules, spending on 'social' sectors, such as housing, will have lower priority than that on productive sectors, like industry, and that emphasis will be given to projects COMET predicts that the constraints already under way, rather than to the

Given the scale of investments in the 1981-85 plan, however, it is no surprise that COMET underlines the significance of the Jamahiriya for foreign suppliers. The share of imports in total supplies will decrease, as production of Libyan goods rises, but, as the report notes: 'Imports will still be responsible for nearly twothirds of domestic requirements at the end of the Plan period. This represents on Libyan estimates — an import market worth some LD 3.96 billion (\$11.7 billion) per annum by 1985.'

To highlight Libya's impressive development record in recent years, COMET notes: 'The magazine Middle East Economic Digest, which analyses each year the reported contracts awarded by various countries in the Middle East, has recorded a steady rise in Libya's share of total Middle East contracts. from 5.6 per cent in 1979 to an astonishing 18.5 per cent for 1981.'

Last year, the report notes, the western industrial countries linked in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) exported to Libya goods worth \$12 billion, making it the OECD's third largest market in the Arab homeland, and its biggest in North Africa.

### Britain's record

Reviewing the record of British firms in Libyan development, COMET says that consultant and some major equipment suppliers have been particularly successful, although 'until recently construction companies have not been much in evidence'. Nevertheless, COMET adds that 'Unfortunately the UK has been slow in the past to respond to the market opportunities, as witnessed by the slow growth in exports.' The report notes that while British exports to the Jamahiriya did increase from £215 million in 1978 to £288 million in 1980, 'It was only in 1981 that British exports really began to take off, totalling £200 million in the last four months of the year alone.'

Copies of the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan have not been widely available in the west, and the COMET report will therefore prove of vital interest to companies trading with Tripoli. In addition to textual analysis of the plan, set in the context of the overall pattern of Libyan development since the 1969 Revolution, the report carries many useful investment and trade tables. Not the least valuable section is a long appendix giving the names, addresses and functions of all the main Libyan public companies and organisations involved in trade and development. Given the continuing lack of knowledge about the Jamahiriya and its development programmes that prevails even amongst many British exporters, the COMET report can be highly recommended.

☐ Libya: The Five Year Development Plan 1981-85, Committee for Middle East Trade, 33 Bury Street, London SW1Y 6AX, July 1982, 70 pages. Price: £8.

# Railway plans proceed

BRITISH RAIL'S consulting subsidiary Transmark has completed its evaluation of the first draft of proposals for railway rolling stock drawn up by France's Société Française & de Réalisations Ferroviaires (Sofrerail). The final study, which will also be assessed by Transmark, will be submitted to the Jamahiriya's Communications and Marine Transport Secretariat in September.

The Sofrerail proposals relate to the first line in the Jamahiriya's planned rail network, a 170 kilometre link between Tripoli and Ras Jadir on the Tunisian frontier. The Hungarian concern Tesco/Uvaterv last year won a \$10 million construction supervision contract for the line, and Transmark is nearing completion of its evaluation of tenders for the \$500 million main construction contract.

The second stage of Libya's railway development programme is a 200 kilometre line between Tripoli and the coastal town of Misrata, which has been designed by Britain's Mott, Hay & Anderson. The third, and longest link, will join Misrata with the south western town of Sebha. A major function of this 922 kilometres line will be to transport 5 million tonnes of iron ore per annum from the deposits in the Wadi Shatti area, near Sebha, to the steel works currently under construction at Misrata, and due to enter operation by 1985.

After the completion of the three rail links in the west of the Jamahiriya, work will start on a major 1,300 kilometre coastal line linking Misrata with the Egyptian border. Last year. Transmark was invited to tender for the design of the coastal line, which might cost as much as \$40 million to construct.

# **Fodder scheme** for dairy plant

THE WEST German firm Gewibau has completed a feasibility study for a \$67 million, 1,100 hectare agricultural project to be sited at Guarcha, south of Benghazi, The scheme will supply fodder for 3,500 cattle at an adjacent dairy complex whose construction, scheduled to start in August, will be supervised by Gewibau. The dairy plant is expected to enter operation in November 1983.

Irrigation water for the Guarcha agricultural scheme will come from treated sewage from Benghazi. A treatment works at Guarcha, designed by Britain's Howard Humphreys & Sons. could already supply 38,000-

40,000 cubic metres per day, and a second stage, scheduled for completion by the end of next year, envisages an expanded capacity of 70,000-75,000 cubic metres per day.

Gewibau will also supervise the Guarcha fodder scheme, which will produce alfalfa, barley Sudan grass and vetch. Poland's Polservice has designed two production units - one of 450 hectares which is already in operation, and the other of 550 hectares, which will start production at the end of this year. The entire scheme will take between three and five years to complete.

# Libva-Yemen fishing firm expands operations

THE JOINT Libyan-Yemeni Arab Sea Fishing Company is to expand its activities by setting up a cannery and cold storage plant, and by buying a fast-freezer vessel to export fish. Aden radio announced on 25th July. It quoted Mr Hussein Bin Smayt, the company's manager, as adding that the firm's board of directors would meet in August to discuss the expansion plans.

Fishing has a potentially vital role to play in the economic development of Democratic Yemen, which currently imports more than half its food needs. The country is well placed to exploit the rich waters of the Arabian and Red Seas.

# AMF loans \$381 million

TOTAL LOAN commitments of the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF) reached \$381 million by the end of last year, a spokesman for the fund revealed in July. He added that since 1981, members have been able to borrow up to 400 per cent of their contribution to the fund's capital, compared with the 150 per cent ceiling set in 1978.

The AMF, now in its fifth year of operations, finances balance of payments deficits of its member countries by offering short and medium term loans, as well as soft term credits. A major objective of the AMF, apart from acting to stabilise the regional economy, is to encourage the use of Arab accounting methods in order to create a suitable atmosphere for the launching of a unified Arab

currency. AMF members include the Libyan Jamahiriya, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Somalia, Iraq, Sudan. Kuwait. Lebanon, Oatar. Morocco, Mauritania, the two Yemens and the PLO. Egypt's membership was suspended in 1979, following the Sadat regime's conclusion of the Camp David accords with the Zionist state.

# Airport designs submitted

THE ITALIAN firm GPL Generale Progette has submitted its final designs for a typical airport, as part of its \$7.7 million contract won last autumn to design and supervise the construction of eight domestic airports in the Jamahiriva. The client, Libva's General Civil Aviation Administration, had already approved the firm's preliminary designs.

The eight airports are planned for the towns of Ubari, Zuwara, Nalut, Zliten, Sirte, Derna, Dahra (south of Ras Lanouf), and Grevat, about 150 kilometres south of Tripoli. They will be similar in design, each having a main runway of about 2,400 metres, with provision for extension to 3,600 metres. The airports are intended to serve mainly internal, medium range flights, but might be expanded for international operations.

# **Britain to** supervise hospital scheme

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan allocates LD 560 million for the expansion of the country's health services, and projects an increase in the number of hospital beds from 14.472 in 1980 to 23.765 by 1985. The ratio of beds to citizens is due to rise from 4.5:1,000 in 1980 to 6.1:1,000 in the middle of the decade.

One of the key projects in the health sector is the completion of the 1,200-bed Benghazi central hospital. Designed in the late 1960s by a Swedish firm, work on the project halted six years ago, with only the civil works completed. In February, however, Libva's General Building Company started work on a contract to finish the \$135 million hospital, with Italy's Compagnie Elletrotecnia as sub-contractor for electrical works and the Milan firm Aster International as main subcontractor for mechanical work.

In July, it was disclosed that a British group has been appointed to update the design and supervise the completion of the Benghazi hospital. The consortium is

headed by James Cubitt & Partners (architects), and includes G H Buckle & Partners (building services consultants), BMMK & Partners (structural engineers) and Tillyard & Partners (quantity surveyors).

# British supermarket contract

THE BRITISH firm H H Robertson has a \$195,000 contract from the Yugoslavian concern Gosa to supply cladding for three new people's supermarkets being built in the Jamahiriya. Gosa last year won a \$22 million contract from Libya's Economy Secretariat to build and furnish the new stores.

As part of revolutionary Libya's moves to eliminate exploitation. private shops are being phased out and replaced by a countrywide network of modern supermarkets, where Libyans can buy a full range of goods at near cost price. Already some three hundred of the new establishments have opened.

# \$4 billion imports from OECD

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya last year imported goods worth \$4.1 billion from the western industrial countries linked in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the OECD's June foreign trade statistics bulletin shows. Libyan exports to OECD members in 1981 were \$5.5 billion.

The bulletin shows that Libya's exports - mainly of oil - were highest in the first half of the year, prior to the start of the current world oil glut. The impact of the lower oil revenues on imports was delayed, however, and became apparent only in the first quarter of 1982, when the Jamahiriya bought OECD goods worth only \$697 million. This was still well in excess of Libya's \$878 million exports to the OECD in the same quarter.

# \$5.5 million health care order

BRITAIN'S GLAXO group has won a \$5.5 million order to supply the Jamahiriya's health care service with a wide range of pharmaceutical goods. The order, placed in June by Libya's Health Secretariat, includes steroids,



antibiotics and anti-asthma medicines. Glaxo has been supplying the Jamahiriya for some years. and in 1981 exported medical supplies worth \$2.7 million. The firm says that its latest order was won against 'intense competition from international companies'.

# Sharp rise in oil output

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S oil output rose sharply in July, to an average of nearly 1.3 million barrels per day, the highest since the start of the world oil glut began in summer last year. The rising output trend was already apparent in June, when the Jamahiriya's produced an estimated average of 1.2 million barrels per day.

Libya's oil production had suffered from the general depression in the world oil market, and falling oil revenues had led to some cash flow difficulties. The sharp recovery of output over the past two months, however, has enabled the Jamahiriva to pay off a significant proportion of its outstanding bills. Madrid radio disclosed that the Bank of Spain on 19th July received a deposit of \$10 million from Libva to help clear what the radio said were total Libyan debts to Spanish firms of \$40 million. It was also disclosed in July that Italy, which reached a payments agreement with Libya in June, has received an initial \$101.3 million to help clear an outstanding total of \$622 million.

Negotiations are in an advanced stage with Cyprus, meanwhile, for the Jamahiriya to supply crude oil in settlement of \$30 million owning to Cypriot firms.

On 9th July the authoritative London weekly Middle East Economic Digest quoted a Scandinavian engineer in Tripoli as confirming that Libya's payments were beginning to flow much faster than they had been: 'Now the money is starting to come through,' he said.

# Mobil reconsiders

AFTER ANNOUNCING that it was to relinquish its operations in the Jamahiriya, the US-based Mobil Oil Corporation has withdrawn its 'notice of surrender'. It had set a 13th July deadline for pulling out, but the firm made no move to halt its operations.

Mobil has been operating in Libya since 1955, and currently operates in a joint venture with the Jamahiriya's National Oil Company and the Veba concern of West Germany.

When Mobil announced its intention to abandon its work in Libva it claimed that low profit margins had prompted the decision. It was widely believed, however, that President Reagan's economic boycott of Libva, imposed in March, was at least as important. The White House has for some months been applying heavy pressure on US companies to abandon their operations in the Jamahiriya, but only the USbased multinational Exxon has so far succumbed.

# Sub-agent appointed for **UK-Libya sea link**

CONTIMAR LINER Agencies (UK) has appointed Anglo European Container Line (AECL) as sub-agent in the north of Britain for Contimar's fortnightly container services to Tripoli and Benghazi from the east coast ports of Goole and Gravesend, it was announced in July

AECL already operates its own sea links to the Jamahiriya. Last year it inaugurated a thrice-weekly sea and rail service from Harwich to Ravenna in north east Italy. From there, containers are shipped to Tripoli every ten days by Italy's DRT line, which had operated this leg of the service for some years.

# **British road** contract

THE BRITISH consulting firm Rendel, Palmer & Tritton has a \$422,000 contract to design intersection No 1 on the major Uruba road in Benghazi, it was dis-

closed in August. The award includes one roundabout, two flyovers, bridges and 1.5 kilometres of road. Completion date for the design is early November.

The Uruba road will lead some four kilometres from the sports city to Benghazi's third ring road (which is currently under construction), crossing Nasser Street The new road will have five intersections in all. Nos 2 and 3 were designed by the UK firm Parkmans. Ward & Ashcroft, and are under construction by the Jamahiriya's National Construction Company. NCC also have the construction contract for intersection No 1.

# **Ghanaians for** oil industry

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's National Oil Company (LNOC) has recruited twelve Ghanaian technicians and engineers and 138 unskilled staff to work in Libva. Accra radio announced on 27th July. The skilled workers have six month contracts, and the others have been employed for an initial two years.

The recruitment follows a cooperation agreement between Libva and Ghana, signed on 6th May, under which the Jamahiriya agreed to supply the West African country with 360,000 tonnes of crude oil, valued at \$96.5 million, tractors, medicines and technical assistance for the mining industry.

# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

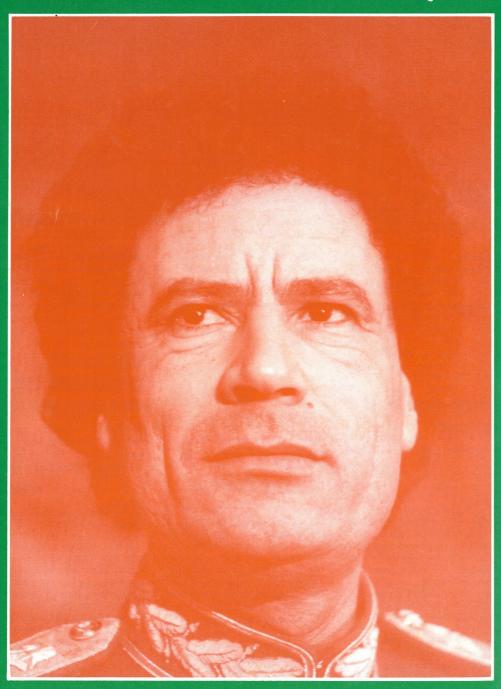
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